SOUTH VIET NAM In Struggle

7th Year — January 15, 1973

No 182

Address: HT 1217 B-SVN
c/o DAZIMINA HANOI
19, Hai Ba Trung, Hanoi, DRVN
and all RSVN Embassies, Information Bureaux in foreign countries

CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE SOUTH VIET NAM NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION

VIET NAM IS ONE

Dr TRINH DINH THAO

Doctor of Law, Chairman of the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces

SINCE October 24, 1972, the Nguyen Van Thieu administration has been trying to sabotage the talks held between the DRVN Government — with the agreement of the RSVN PRG — and the US government. They have advanced such absurdities as "aggression against South Viet Nam by the North," "withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from the South", "respect for the sovereignty of the Saigon administration all over South Viet Nam," etc. to back up this illogical and illegal claim that there exist two Vietnamese states: the state of North Viet Nam and the state of South Viet Nam.

First of all, let us make it clear that Thieu's effort is in fact master-minded by the United States. The Saigon administration, created, fostered and directed by Washington, can do nothing against the latter's will. It was with Thieu's consent that the Nixon administration engaged in private talks with representatives of the DRVN Government — this was pointed out by Kissinger in his Feb. 9, 1972 press conference in Washington, and the next day President Nixon himself re-affirmed that any proposal put forward by him would be a joint proposal of the "South Vietnamese and the American governments." Whatever may happen, he added, we would not make any new proposal without a prior exchange of views with, and the approval of, the South Vietnamese government.

Now the US has embarked upon a series of talks and the Thieu administration has been doing its utmost to wreck it: this, far from reflecting any deep dissension between master and man, only shows an aspect of "Vietnamization" raised to a higher level — a "Vietnamization" not limited to ground war and "pacification," but extended by Nixon to diplomacy and aero-naval operations, to secure finally a safe withdrawal of US and allied fighting units while the US neo-colonialist war of aggression is continued and even stepped up.

In raising the question of "two Vietnamese states," the US and Thieu want to negate indirectly the first principle stipulated in the text of the "Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam" reached by North Viet Nam and the United States on Oct. 20, 1972: "The United States respects the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam as recognized by the 1954 Geneva Agreements." On the strength of this negation, they want to revise the whole Oct. 20, 1972 Accord.

The "two Vietnamese states" claim is unfounded in all respects. Historically, the Vietnamese nation has been one through millenaries and so has Viet Nam. The French colonialists, in pursuance of their "divide and rule" policy applied all through 80 years, had partitioned Viet Nam into three "Ky" with three different administrations but the monolithic unity of the Vietnamese people remained unshakable, and only within a week, the August 1945 Revolution triumphed in all the three cities of Hanoi, Hue and Saigon. The Vietnamese people's anti-French resistance started in Saigon on the night of Sept. 23, 1945 and from there, spread to the whole country.

Sentimentally, the people of the South and those of the North share the same ancestors, the same language, the same national traditions, they are brothers of the same family. Although customs and habits may vary from one area to another, the Vietnamese national character is one from Lang Son province to Ca Mau Cape. This national feeling has been made stronger by the long years of resistance to alien aggression. Vietnamese from the North have shed their blood in the South, and Vietnamese from the South have shed their blood in the North, in defence of a common Fatherland.

National reunification is a profound aspiration of the whole Vietnamese nation and a pressing demand of tens of thousands of families having their members on the other side of the provisional military demarcation line, as a result of war, of the regrouping operations in implementation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, and of the forced emigration enforced by the US and Ngo Dinh Diem from August 1954 to May 1955.

Juridically, only one Viet Nam was mentioned in all agreements signed by the French colonialists and the Vietnamese since the beginning of French occupation at the end of the 19th century until the Preliminary Convention of March 6, 1946 and the *Modus Vivendi* of September 14, 1946. The 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam recognized the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam and forbade any foreign interference in the internal affairs of the Vietnamese people (Point 12 of the Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference unanimously approved on July 21, 1954 by all participants to the Conference, including the United States and Bao Dai's State of Viet Nam).

Under the terms of the Geneva Agreements, the military demarcation line on the 17th parallel was only provisional, and should in no way be construed as constituting a political or territorial boundary; the two zones North and South of that demarcation line should be re-unified through democratic general elections to be held in July 1956.

In studying international documents on Viet Nam, the American lawyers in the "Lawyers Committee on American Policy Towards Viet Nam" established a legal point that must take the US-Thieu by surprise: "The United States," they noted, "has never recognized South Viet Nam under the name of 'Republic of Viet Nam in the South' or by any other name as a State or entity; at the same time as Great Britain, the United States recognized (the whole of) Viet Nam on Feb. 7, 1950, four and a half years before Viet Nam is divided into two zones" (From *Viet Nam and International Law* published by the Lawyers Committee on American Policy Towards Viet Nam — O'Hare books—second edition 1967, page 38).

The "two Vietnamese states" claim is totally illegal as recognized by many researchers on legal science in various countries. Suffice it to mention the views expressed by an American lawyer — sociologist Prof. Richard Falk, of Princetown University, after a visit to Viet Nam at the beginning of 1968. "The final historical lesson," he wrote, "that is appreciated from a visit to Viet Nam, is the absurdity of talking of two Viet Nam. In the whole of Viet Nam history, the whole character of Vietnamese culture, one has the overwhelming image of a country that is extraordinarily unified in grasping its own identity" *(see Documents on the World Conference of Lawyers on Viet Nam)*.

THE imperialists' policy has always been to "divide and rule." In 1946, the French colonialists gave birth to the "autonomous Nam Ky State" which soon withered away following the suicide by hanging of Dr. Nguyen Van Thinh out of repentance of having served as a quisling Premier at the instigation of French Colonel Cedille. In the wake of this unsuccessful attempt at geographical

(Continued on page 7)

Transporting supplies to the frontline

SPECIAL COMMUNIQUÉ ON U.S. CRIME AGAINST HANOI POPULATION

The Commission for Investigation of US War Crimes in Hanoi yesterday released the following special communiqué :

FROM December 18 to 29, 1972, President Nixon overtly mobilized a huge air force, including almost all the B.52 strategic bombers in Southeast Asia, to conduct round-the-clock extermination raids on an ever larger scale and with a degree of atrocity hitherto unknown in the history of the US war of aggression in Viet Nam, against population centers in Hanoi capital, piling up countless savage crimes against the Hanoi population.

In more than 10 days, the US imperialists flew over 1,000 sorties of aircraft, including over 500 sorties of strategic B.52's, to shower 40,000 tons of bombs on heavily populated areas (some with a density of population of 30,000 inhabitants per sq.km) to wit : 353 population centers and economic, cultural, educational and social establishments in all the 4 internal precincts and all the 4 suburban districts, including 3 townships : Yen Vien, Gia Lam, Van Dien and the district capital of Dong Anh. Many localities were attacked a dozen times. According to preliminary data, the continuous B.52 carpet-bombings caused 2,579 civilian casualties among them 1,318 killed.

B.52 stratoforts carpet-bombed many areas in 3 internal precincts : Dong Da, Hai Ba Trung and Ba Dinh and all the four suburban districts.

An Duong working people quarter at the northern edge of the city proper in Ba Dinh precinct, is a heavily populated area whose inhabitants earn their living on practising primitive transport means such as tricycles, ox or horse carts, or on handicraft such as brick- or tile-making, or on growing vegetables. However, at 5.15 hours December 21, 1972, as people scarcely awake, were preparing for their work, B.52's carpet-bombed this quarter, raining over 600 bombs on a stretch more than 1 km long by nearly 1 km wide, destroying over 200 dwellings, the schools of 1st and 2nd degrees with their 29 class-rooms for 1,500 students, the sanitary post N° 1 of An Duong, many creches, kindergartens, food shops and groceries... killing 135 people and wounding 126 others. A dozen families were wiped out such as 40-year-old Mr Chu Van Huynh's comprising himself, his wife, mother and 4 children, 42-year-old Mr Tran Van Cu's comprising 6 members, to wit : himself, his wife and 4 children, 36-year-old Mr Ngo Van Minh's comprising himself, his wife and 4 children... Many children were orphaned with no relatives left, such as the case of 2-year-old Nguyen Thi Thu Ngan.

Kham Thien street, Dong Da precinct, covering 1 sq.km and located right in the centre of Hanoi capital with a high density of population, is dwelled by 29,623 people, most of them workers, grouped into 5,980 households. At 22.30 hrs. December 26, 1972, as people were sleeping soundly, 30 sorties of B.52's carpet-bombed the street, showering thousands of bombs including 2,000-pounders in 18 subquarters, wiping out 6 of them ; especially subquarters 45, 46 and 47 were utterly levelled. US ordnance killed 215 people and wounded 257 others, flattened 534 houses and damaged 1,200 others, destroyed hundreds of public utility works such as restaurants, refreshment rooms, food shops, the Kham Thien market, the Mam Non (Young school) kindergarten, the Truong Thuan communal house... Among the victims, there were very tragic cases : 15-year-old Nguyen Thi Vuong, for instance, lost all her family members and was herself all lacerated by US bomb fragments. Little Tran Van Thang, one and a half year old, was sleeping soundly in his mother's bosom when the latter was killed, still hugging him in her protective arms ; but the baby nevertheless died from bomb pressure. Many children lost all their parents in this slaughter.

The Bach Mai hospital, a major civilian therapeutic institution in Dong Da precinct, south of the city proper, was subject to 3 raids including 1 B.52 carpet-bombing. At 3.45hrs December 22, the Bach Mai hospital came under the third extermination attack conducted by B-52's. Hundreds of bombs, hitting home, completely wrecked the dermatology and internal diseases sections, the laboratory, many wards the orto-rhinolaryngotology institute, the Children's Health Protection Institute, the administrative section, the laundry-room..., destroyed many modern facilities for diagnosis, treatment and scientific research of the hospital. Unquestionably, the bombing of the Bach Mai hospital follows from a vicious premeditated scheme of the Nixon administration. The Bach Mai hospital, a center of medical research, a 40-year-old health center where many well-known professors in medicine have been working and conducting their researches, with its 940 sick-beds, 250 doctors and 800 students on probation, is the major therapeutic ins itution of the DRVN. And US aircraft did not hesitate to bomb it to flat, killing 28 people including physicians, senior pharmacists, hospital attendants, technicians, probationers, medical staff and sick people, and wounding 22 others.

In mounting extermination raids on the Bach Mai hospital, the US aggressors aimed at massacring physicians and destroying equipments for treatment and first-aid cares, in a bid to create a disruption in the health protection work and deny the sick and wounded places of treatments.

The Polytechnic College, the Economy Planning University... a dozen primary and junior and senior high schools in Ha Noi suburbs were also fiercely blitzed, many of them on repeated occasions.

One-third of the 102 suburban villages of Ha Noi were subject to B.52 saturation bombings ; some of them were attacked almost 10 times such as Yen Vien, Uy No, Me Tri, Tan Trieu. Many working people quarters such as Tuong Mai, Quynh Loi, Mai Huong were heavily destroyed.

Many pagodas, temples and churches were targets. Set pagoda was blotted out. Quan Su pagoda, right in the center of Hanoi, suffered much damage. So did Giap Bat church (Tam village) where hosts of Christian believers were killed.

Dozens of large-size bombs hit the body of the Cong Thon dike-portion, which had been recently mended in the last flood season, and the Phu Duc dyke portion in Gia Lam.

A number of industrial establishments devoted to public welfare such as the March 8 Textile factory, the biggest of this kind in North Viet Nam, the Hai Chau pastry and spaghetti factory in Hai Ba Trung precinct, were subject to extermination bombings.

Large numbers of nurseries, kindergartens, open movie theaters, groceries, food shops, restaurants, refreshment-rooms, markets in both the city proper and its periphery were also targets of US planes.

In particular, in this bombing campaign, US aircraft caused damage to the seats of 8 foreign embassies in Hanoi : those of the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Hungary, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Arab Republic of Egypt, the Republic of India, the Kingdom of Cambodia, the Republic of Cuba, the People's Republic of Albania.

In Nam Bo street, the main building of the international civilian railway station of Hanoi was bombed to flat. The Gia Lam international civilian airport was also repeatedly attacked.

In the recent raids, US ordnance killed or wounded all the members of nearly 100 famillies. How many families suffered sorrows and mournings, how many mothers and their nurselings were killed in their beds as they were sleeping soundly in the depths of night ! US bombs also upturned tombs in grave-yards. Really, Nixon is even crueller and more savage than Hitler !

In setting B.52's on carpet bombing in a bid to erase whole population centers in Hanoi capital, in getting at offices of the Diplomatic Body, economic and cultural establishments devoted to public welfare, the Nixon bellicist clique has plunged deeper in the path of crimes and revealed its most ignominious visage with its intention to kill people en masse in bloody slaughters.

The further the Nixon bellicist clique pushes its escalation, the more telling blows it receives. No cruel crime of the US imperialists can intimidate the Ha Noi people as well as the entire Vietnamese people. Instead, the heroic Ha Noi army and people, together with the entire Vietnamese people, closely united, are all the more firmly determined to persevere, in, and push forward, their struggle against the US aggression for national salvation. Promoting their heroism, the army and people of the capital city have hit back hard at the US aggressors and recorded exceptionnally glorious exploits, shooting down 30 US planes, including 23 B.52's, 2 F.111's, annihilating or capturing large numbers of US pilots, bringing the total of US aircraft downed over Ha Noi capital to 358. This constitutes the heaviest defeat over of the US strategic air force and shatters the supremacy of their B.52 trump card.

Pervaded with President Ho Chi Minh's teachings : 'Ha Noi, Haiphong and other cities and certain enterprised may be destroyed, but the Vietnamese people will not be intimidated ! Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom !', the heroic Hanoi people together with their fellow-countrymen in the whole country, are determined to overcome all difficulties and hardships to safeguard at all costs their sacred national rights.

How many villages and streets have been devastated like this populous street of Hanoi by US aircraft!

"Vietnamization" and war escalation

FOUR years ago, the Nixon administration dreamt of securing victory over the South Vietnamese people's sacred resistance and imposing US neo-colonialism on the Southern half of Viet Nam with US "incredible" military might.

To continue its aggression in Viet Nam in the conditions of 1969, the United States was compelled to operate a change in strategy. White House advisers suggested that the only alternative was a long-range, low-cost strategy if the objectives to be attained—and that strategy was officially named "Vietnamization" in Nixon's speech of Nov. 3, 1969.

Four years have elapsed. As Nixon's first term was ending, the objectives set at the start were more remote than ever and the Washington rulers were confronted not by any kind of "victory" mirage, but—as the US press put it—by the spectre of defeat.

The United States has made full use of its strength, it has not shrunk from any barbarous methods or crafty moves to crush the Vietnamese and save "Vietnamization." But running against a whole nation fiercely jealous of her independence and freedom, the aggressors experienced reverse after reverse. Each escalation in the use of war power was accompanied by a heavier failure — which was in its turn followed by a new escalation — and so the United States found itself bogged down in war.

In 1969 over half a million GIs provided a mainstay for a reinforced client army. 50 percent of US military activities and 80 percent of those of the Saigon administration were centered on the implementation of an "accelerated pacification" program, while more fire power was concentrated on erasing resistance bases and consolidating Saigon's defence system.

But right from its inception, the new US strategy was dealt a smarting blow: In 1969 the US-Saigon command had 645,000 troops put out of action (410,000 Saigon troops, 235,000 Americans and satellites), a figure higher than that of 1968, the year of the dramatic Tet offensive.

"Vietnamization" soon bared its own weakness and nothing vouched for its viability.

In 1970, faced with the bitter heritage of defeats in 1969, the Nixon administration deemed it necessary to enlarge and step up the war in order to tide over its difficulties and again secure "victory." In March that year, a US instigated coup d'Etat was staged in Cambodia. In May, 100,000 US-Saigon troops were ordered to march on this country: the Khmer "oasis of peace" was to be turned into a US neo-colony and military base in an effort to encirle and isolate the South Vietnamese revolution and ensure the success of "Vietnamization."

But the results of this military adventure fell far short its planners' expectations. 30,000 US-Saigon troops and 50,000 Phnom Penh troops were wiped out and half the Cambodian territory was liberated after a few months' fighting. Under the impact of heavy setbacks on the battlefront and mounting opposition in the United States, Nixon was forced to withdraw his GIs from Cambodia within the time-limit he had set. Cambodia far from being transformed into a US military base, became a land of ebullient revolution and joined Viet Nam and Laos in the common anti-US fight of the Indochinese peoples. Thus, the progress made by the Cambodian revolution and the powerful upsurge and offensives of the patriots in South Viet Nam were the most remarkable developments following US new escalation.

PLAF gunners, those who have been foiling Nixon's "Vietnamization of the war"

In 1971 the same process was repeated: each failure suffered in war intensification was interpreted by Nixon and his military advisers as the result of an inadequate use of military muscle-troop strength firepower, etc. Not the smallest lesson was drawn. In the dry season of 1970-71, the United States again threw 70 percent of the Saigon army and one-third of US troops into a big gamble on the area of Highway 9-South Laos. The aggressors nurtured high hope: shatter the South Vietnamese people's strategic logistical line and resistance base, immobilize and weaken the Liberation main force, win a decisive military victory which would make the success of their 1971 "pacification" program a certainty completion of "Vietnamization" a probability. But this time more than previously, the results were most lamentable for the Yankees. Despite US airforce and artillery support, 23,400 GI's and Saigon troops out of the 43,000 hurled into the campaign were put out of combat and the remaining part ran away from their assigned positions. This was the most humiliating reverse ever sustained by the Saigon main force which the United States had so painstakingly fostered, equipped and trained. Meanwhile in Northeast Cambodia, another counter offensive staged by the Saigon troops was also stopped short, and 17,400 men were wiped out.

The war escalation which consisted in spreading the war to the whole of Indochina fared even worse than in the previous year. In 1971, considered a "crucial" year for "Vietnamization", this policy suffered a bitter setback on the military plane. Not only was PLAF main force not weakened, but it was even strengthened and now able to hit devastatingly at the enemy on all battlefields in South Viet Nam. The strategical initiative was unmistakably in the patriots' hands and their full capability of waging a long-drawn-out war with a growing intensity became apparent.

The year 1972 should, in the Nixon clique's subjective calculations, witness the quasi-total completion of "Vietnamization," but in fact it was a year in which US strategy came to a flop under the violent offensive launched by the South Vietnamese patriots starting from March 30, 1972. Although an escalation in air war was initiated towards the end of 1971 and expanded to the liberated areas of Laos and North Viet Nam in early 1972, the aggressors were unable to get "Vietnamization" out of the quagmire. The spring offensive of strategic importance staged by the South Vietnamese people and armed forces achieved gains of unprecedented magnitude in the history of South Viet Nam's anti-US resistance. In 1972, they knocked out of action nearly half a million enemy troops, wrote off or heavily decimated 8 divisions, 35 regiments brigades or multi-battalion units, 327 battalions of infantry and other specialized services, which accounted for more than half the total of main force divisions and almost 70 percent of all Saigon army units. The "pacification" program which formed the basis of "Vietnamization" collapsed by big chunks in large areas. Another 5 million people regained control of their land. The newly-liberated territories forced with the old liberated areas a vast zone of one stretch.

As "Vietnamization" was collapsing, the Nixon clique, following a beaten track, escalated the war once again through a "re-Americanization" program with the fielding of a new expeditionary corps of US Navy and Air Force to cope with the situation in South Viet Nam, and extend the hostilities to the North. They resorted to the mining and blockade of North Vietnamese ports and to saturation bombing of whole populated areas, including the big cities—Hanoi and Haiphong among others. But as is known to everybody those frantic moves could not prevent the unavoidable collapse of "Vietnamization." They only led to grievous setbacks for the US and Saigon regime. *AFP* reported on Oct. 8, 1972 that Saigon's military situation and worsened compared with that in May when the Quang Tri Front was breached. In North Viet Nam, US navy and air forces received strong ripostes: 732 aircraft were downed in 1972 (including 54 B.52's and 10 F.111's), more than 1,000 pilots killed or captured, US warships including cruisers and destroyers set on fire or damaged 117 times. The grounding of 34 B.52's and 5 F.111's in North Viet Nam in the last days of 1972 was a considerable military, political and psychological setback and dramatically debunked the myth of US air power.

War escalation coming after a failure and preceding another reverse—such is the logic of escalation in the US rulers' aggression in Viet Nam. The United States wants to show its strength, but it only makes clear that US strength is limited, and that the higher the US climbs the more painful is its fall; this truth should be pondered by Mr Nixon after four years of wasting US dollars and Americans and others' lives.

THANH HONG

HANOI, VALIANT CITY, THE HEART OF OUR MOTHERLAND

"The US aggressors must pay for their debt of blood". (Poster of the Hanoi Cultural Office)

Hanoi shady-tree preserving brigades

HANOI owes its beauty to its lakes and to the multitude of shade trees lining its streets and peopling the compounds of government organs or people's organizations, all placed under the care of the Public Square Company. The lungs of the city, this luxuriant vegetation is the pride of the Hanoians and the admiration of foreign visitors.

Bidding farewell to Hanoi, Bulgarian poetess Blaga Dimitrova wrote :

O ! valiant city, equal to your task,
— Pardon me for leaving you.
Pardon me, trees who refuse to bow your heads,
Ready to turn into smoke, which rises up and goes forward too.
O ! Hanoi trees, I bend before you.

Hanoi, December 28, 1972.

SPECIALIZED brigades spend the three months of Spring planting shade trees and the rest of the year looking after them. They are particularly busy in stormy weather and after American raids.

After every US air strike in the twelve earth-shaking days of December 1972, one could see STPB (Shady Trees Preserving Brigades) men appear in Hanoi streets even before fire-engines and Red-Cross cars. They had to clear the way for these vehicles carrying time-bomb-detectors. Maimed roots and branches lay helter-skelter across thoroughfares, on house roofs. Electric wire was chopped up and drain-pipe blown up. It occured that STPB men laboured during alarm-time. A most difficult job was clearing house tops and electric poles or fallen trees : they had to climb up and cut off one branch, one section of the trunks after another and haul them down with a rope. It also happened that no sooner had STPB men reached the tree tops than the alarm went and they had to slid down, taking care not to fall. But when they set foot on the ground they found that all nearby shelters were occupied. Once some was still perched on slender branches over Ngo Thoi Nhiem Street when enemy aircraft had already passed by overhead. On another occasion their comrades witnessed burning adverse planes crash while busy with their job over Truong Dinh Road. Their first reaction was gratification rather than fear.

FRIDAY morning, December 22, word came from the Public Building Yard Department : "A number of trees had felled down at Van Dien by bombs." No car was available. A ten-man STPB team tied on their bicycles all their 80-pound outfit, a cumbersome one consisting of cords, knives, 2-foot-long hand saws and 5 foot-long saws to be handled by two men. Once on the spot, the team found forty 15 yard-long casuarina trunks littering a 1 km-section of Highway 1. It toiled for three full hours from 9 a.m. before bulldozers came to repair the road. Again on bicycles our men left this southern suburban district of Hanoi.

Thrusday morning, December 21. At the civil servants and workers' An Duong living quarters on the Red River bank, tall trees uprooted by B-52 bomb showers impeded first-aid care. Almost immediately after the attack, STPB teams rushed there to give effective help. In Tran Nhan Tong Street in the centre of the city, four 13 foot-diameter trees fell on underground shelters. They were rapidly removed to prevent shelters from collapsing.

Sunday, December 26. At the city's Northern Gate, STPB fighters busied themselves with both tree-clearing and rescue work. At night, in the Kham Thien district, a worst hit one, thirty malabar almond trees falling on electric poles and house roofs blocked the traffic on its main thoroughfare. The traffic was restored in half an hour's time by STPB teams armed with mechanical and hand saws and machetes. Of the forty nine members sixteen were women and girls who did all the jobs of their male team mates except tree-climbing. Women left their children in kindergartens or to the care of their relatives or friends. Fourteen-year-old volunteers, who feared ghosts when going to school at night, did not shrink at the sight of corpses : they were fired by the single purpose of saving the survivors.

TO fulfil the plan of the Hanoi Party Committee-eliminating the aftermaths of air raids in fifteen days— STPB worked with a high sense of emergency. Repairs should be done to communications first, then to Kham Thien district, the Cho Mo living quarters, Bach Mai Hospital, the Veterinary Institute and the March 8 Weaving Factory.

I visited a nine-man team on duty at the An Duong district. Two workers, in safety belts, were lopping off branches with hand saws. Amidst rubble and dead, leafless trees, one, pointing to a devastated square in the vicinity, said to the other : "The PSC will surely rebuild it in a short time."

In Hoang Hoa Tham Street where the crashing of a B-52 kindled a fire (a house was burnt down and three persons killed), four STPB men were sawing branches off mutilated trees. Among these there was a tree whose unedible fruit, when ripe, bursts asunder and shows red seeds. Gazing at it, one of them told his team males : "Look ! its leaves are going to fall to reappear in spring. It's not dead, it will never die whatever happens."

STPB men look towards the future, towards life. The director of the Public Square said to me : "Tell everyone you meet what you've seen, how we take care of shady trees so that their importance to life in urban centres is understood by all. People of all the world's tree-lined cities are proud of their greenness. Ours keeps its green foliage all through the four seasons. We should preserve them, never mutilate or otherwise harm them. Our STPB is preparing to replace the trees destroyed or maimed by American bombs this very spring. Our capital city's streets and boulevards and avenues will recover their vegetation, their beauty. Kham Thien will have its malabar almond trees as before, Van Dien its casuarina trees..."

XUAN DIEU

(from the daily Nhan Dan)

IN BRIEF

o DRVN President Ton Duc Thang has signed a decision conferring the Resistance Order and Exploit Order on 140 units with outstanding achievements in fighting or serving the fight since the US imperialists resumed the bombing of North Viet Nam, especially during the Dec. 18-29, 1972 period.

The decorated units comprise 42 province capitals, residential quarters, districts or villages including areas pertaining to Hanoi capital, Haiphong port city and 98 units of various services.

Among the recipients of the Resistance Order, First Class, are the Yen Phu Power Plant (Hanoi), the *Voice of Viet Nam Radio* the Bach Mai hospital, the Viet Nam — GDR hospital (Hanoi) and the Viet Nam — Czechoslovakia hospital (Haiphong).

The Resistance Order, Second Class, is awarded to the people, cadres and militia of the Dong Da precinct (Hanoi) where lies Kham Thien street carpet-bombed by US B.52's ; the Hanoi port, some outlying districts of the capital city, the Thac Ba Hydro Power Plant, etc.

The other honoured units belong to various services like power and coal, materials, building, public utility, local industry, communications and transport, post, food, home trade, radio diffusion, information, culture, public health, and public security.

o Two weeks after savage US B-52 raids on the heart of Hanoi capital, the Institute for the Protection of Mother and Children has just successfuly oparated on two Siamese sisters at the Viet Nam — GRD surgical clinic. The two sisters, Huong and Lan by name, were thirteen-days-old and weighed together 3.9 kilograms at the time of the operation.

The separation of these xiphoomphalopages (joined together at the lower part of the sternum and the navel) was effected by Prof. Ton That Tung and his team. The joined livers were separated. When the operation was under way, following the opening of the pleura and pericardium, Huong had a cardiac stoppage. But the heart resumed beating after four minutes of massage. The twins are doing well thanks to the respirators and oxygen tents donated by the American Quakers and the Aid Viet Nam Committee in the Netherlands.

Two B-52 kills with two missiles

THE last days of 1972 were marked by several exploits of Missile Battalion 57 : downing of an F4 ; contribution to the grounding of the first B-52 in Hanoi on the night of December 18 ; and the most outstanding feat of all, bagging of two "flying fortresses" on December 21 with two missiles

A newly set up unit, Missile Battalion 57 has undergone an intensive and grinding training before emerging as one of the crack outfits.

Hunting for "flying fortresses"

Officers and men of the battalion had resolved to bring down B-52's should Nixon venture to deploy this strategic master weapon of his against Hanoi. The decision was taken months ago, as everyone was angered by the US President's bad faith and brutality but the greatest difficulty was the want of experience : the battalion had never dealt with B-52's. The unit's head and other commanding officers had to devise collectively a training plan in which all contingencies were envisaged. With utmost dedication and a deep sense of purpose, Commanding Officer Nguyen Dinh Kien and his aides Thi, Dai and Lich organized training sessions.

Comrade Phan The Duc was dispatched by higher authorities to help Battalion 57 with its preparations. A Party member, Duc had taken part in the fighting in Vinh Linh where he himself had observed the movements of B-52s on the radar screen. His proficiency in telling B-52's from other kinds of enemy aircraft was soon passed on to the Battalion 57 men.

Through days training—in accordance with a new plan of combat — it seemed that eyes had become more perceptive and hands more dexterous. They were quicker in spotting targets. Additional experience was brought them by the Battalion's Deputy Commander Nguyen Quang Hoe just back from a course of instruction in Military Zone 4 where he had seen how B-52s were knocked down by missile units.

Whenever a shortcoming — be it the smallest one — was discovered or a new contingency anticipated, fresh plans were drawn up accordingly, and so went on the feverish training in Battalion 57.

Exploding the myth of US air force invulnerability

On the night of December 20, as usual, Battalion 57 was divided into two teams. The first one was positioned in the missile emplacement, under the battalion commander and the Chief Political Commissar. The Deputy Commander Le Tien Doi, and the Deputy Political Commissar Nguyen Quang Hoa were in charge of the second team camped not far off.

At 04.35 hours shapr, December 21, from that emplacement, a "fire dragon" whizzed upward. Our men were in a position to know quite accurately from the combat plan they had prepared, and without having to watch the enemy on the radar screen, from which direction and at what altitude the B-52s were winging their way to Hanoi. The sky was totally darkened by clouds and the trajectory of the missile could be perceived only from time to time when it passed through interstices.

All of a sudden, a flash lit up the sky and its size rapidly increased. Stirred with joy, our missile servants should : "It's on fire !" Without any delay, Deputy Commander Hoe telephoned his report to his chief who was at the missile emplacement :

"The B-52 has taken fire and we've seen it fall down."

The chief's voice sounded no less enthusiastic : "From here also, we've seen it disappear from the screen !"

And after a pause, apparently to exchange views with the Political Commissar, Battalion Commander Kien asked : "How many missiles have you seen shot up ?"

"Only one, from our emplacement," replied Hoe.

The sky was quiet again.

At about five a.m. a new alert was given. 05.15 hours : a missile zipped up from the missile emplacement of Battalion 57, only one, this time too ! Seconds later, a big ball of fire appeared in the sky. In its glare, some comrades could see very distinctly the wings and fuselage of the B-52.

A report was immediately sent to the battalion headquarters by Deputy Political Commissar Doi : "We've seen very clearly a B-52 taking fire, and only one missile hurled up by our battalion !"

At 6 a.m. sharp, Battalion Deputy Commander Nguyen Quang Hoe and Political Commissar Doan Quang Hop of Company 1 were present at Village X. They could see with their own eyes the body of a B-52 pilot falling down from the high skies and, beyond the river, the debris of the enemy aircraft littering the ground.

Hanoi SAM battalion 57, heroic unit

Capture of B.52 crewmen

IT was wet afterdark. The half-moon shed a pale milky light on the villages in district K., Vinh Phu province. Supper had just been finished at the family of the militia chief of village D. when booms of heavy anti-aircraft flak came from Hanoi capital. Gong and drum beats spread from one village to another, alerting the villagers against approaching enemy planes.

Lam, the militia chief, snatched off his rifle and shot out of the house. He looked up at the glowing flak streaking accross the sky and listened. There was a strange rumble of engine. Unlike the deafening roar he had often heard from other US jet planes, this was a heavy and remote sound.

There was a loud explosion. A ball of fire tore up into the air.

"Our missile," Lam whispered to himself.

Then a mid-air explosion lit up the whole area. He hurtled forward, almost bumping into three militiamen who had come there nobody knew when.

"It's hit," they exclaimed at the same tims.

"Go after the pilots," Lam ordered.

Hardly had they crossed the large drying-yard of the co-op when Lam again shouted : "The parachutes ! Do you see them ? I bet they'll fall over there, in the field."

They ran toward the falling parachutes. Just then, a huge heavy thing crashed nearby, causing a deafening explosion and a big fire.

That's the plane.

When the first parachute touched down, Lam and his men were only 10 metres from the airman. He was ridding himself of the mess of strings without knowing of the approaching militiamen.

"Hands up !"

The sudden shout gave the man a big jolt and all he could do was to drop to his knees. Lam and his men quickly disarmed the American and tied him up.

Meanwhile, many people with rifles in hands were rushing out to a nearby field, where a second parachute was falling. The airman got entangled to the top of a bamboo-tree. The militia took him down. He was already dead with many injuries and burns on his body.

A third parachute was already seen falling, but the pilot still was found nowhere.

The search continued all the night, involving militia men and women of various villages and also a workers' group. It was almost dawn when the militia chief of village P. together with a group of militiamen dragged him out from a cement drain. He was caught while trying to radio for help. It was not long before he was led to the "Hanoi-Hilton" where he would have to spend Christmas this year with many other US pilots.

Among the huge heap of debris of the B-52 strategic bomber the militia found a fragment with the marking :

"STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND" and another bearing this inscription "US AIR FORCE B-52G B.N.

SERIAL NO. 58-201."

If we tolerate the disappearance of Viet Nam, what will be able to move us to react?

__Sara Lidman__, a Swedish journalist and writer, has recently visited the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Travelling through the length and breadth of the country during six weeks, she visited towns and villages hit by the US Air Force and Navy. Back home, she tells the public about what she has seen for herself.

"PAPER", replied Vietnamese teachers when I asked them what they needed most as help from Scandinavian countries. For the Americans, paper is a "strategic weapon." Indeed, what is put down on paper, whether ruled or not, whether ruled in straight lines or in squares, can play a part in the fight against them.

At present, Viet Nam badly needs paper, paper for children learning in schools hidden in huts in the thick jungle. A school is accommodated in eight huts so that one bomb cannot kill all school-children at the same time...

Paper does not only symbolize Vietnamese school-children's thirst for knowledge, but also the unshakable will of the Vietnamese to preserve their dignity, their culture, their humanism. Confronting this inhuman war, the Vietnamese want to remain what they have always been: human beings with good hearts, full of compassion and magnanimity, virtues handed down by a millenary culture. What a far cry from the Yankee imperialists' chewing-gum culture and effort — to recall an American general's words — to "bomb Viet Nam back into the stone age," that is, to a primitive state, to brutality, serfdom and mental degradation!"

Writers turned cultural activists

"I attended an evening of declamation in a village with a Vietnamese poet. He told me he had composed "over a thousand love poems." In wartime he had become a cultural activist among the population and his main duty was to boost their courage.

Despite the savage nature of the war, the Vietnamese stick to their humanism.

They weep and suffer with those who have lost their children or parents, like that employé I came to meet in a mountain mining village that was bombed when I was staying there. The day before, four children were killed by bombs. The employé extracted them from an anti-air raid shelter. He sobbed while telling me what had happened. Their parents were out in the paddies during the alarm. The children's bodies showed no evidence of injuries: they were killed by the most sophisticated and brutal weapon, the so-called brain-shock bomb."

The brain-shock bomb

"The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam possesses important coal mines which are a national asset. The Americans started bombing them systematically recently. Until then this sector of the nation's economy had been spared to a large extent, so my interpreter wanted me to see a mining village. For many months there had been no alerts. But when we arrived there, we were told there had been a raid the day before. During my visit I saw many aircraft flights roaring past overhead. The local administration building was located near a mountain with a cave used as a shelter.

There we spent the night. The first alarm rang at 6 a.m. at the very moment when, as soon as we got up, we were brushing our teeth. We ran to safety in the cave three or four times in the morning... I talked with an elder, a formidable man. A very good breakfast had just been served when another alert sounded. Someone told us not to worry and we went on eating. But one comrade stepped out to see what was happening; he came back in next to no time, shouting, "Go into cover at once."

At that very moment bombs began falling. We had just time to rush into the cave. My interpreter was literally hurled into it by an air blast. Two brain-shock bombs exploded nearby. Their shells were rather thin but their blast so strong that it could be felt within a radius of several miles. And although sheltered inside the mountain we felt we were lifted from the ground. We had the impression of being light like paper and hang on to one another with the hope of finding a hold and more weight against that tremendous blast. My interpreter who had been thrown in said later that a shiver had run down his back and that he had felt a pain and stiffness in his joints for several days.

The bomb had so terrible an effect that its blast alone can be lethal, and that's what had killed the four children I have mentioned. It is directed against all that is breakable. It pulls down houses and cuts down children who are too weak to stand it...

The bomb is a real terror now. I have seen it in a museum where the Vietnamese exhibit weapons used by the US in its criminal war against them.

When I got out of the cave the house where we had taken breakfast was damaged throughout. My tape recorder was upset and broken, my spectacles too, and my bag full of rubble and plaster. Bomb splinters littered everywhere, so hot that nobody dared to touch them half an hour after the explosion. Eight bombs had been dumped on the mountain that had protected us. I had had the feeling that the whole mountain had been shaken. Everyone expected that everything would fall on his head...

What about the moral of the population? War propaganda had blared out this morning that "the Vietnamese could hold out for another two years at most."

A brutalized humanity

"What makes me shriver as I read such kind of things is that those who produce them seem to be watching a poker game or a bull fight. They look on to see how long one can hold out. As though they wonder "how long it will take before one can speak."

There is so brutal an aspect in the mass media that it reminds me of scientists who, sitting on chairs and reckoning how fragile man is not to survive a brain-shock bomb.

I fear that this war has brutalized public opinion and news propagation, and if so the consequences will be all the more terrible for us all.

One hears about Kissinger and of him alone one day after another. He has gone here, he has gone there. And in the end one even comes to know how long he spends in his toilet. That is all the world news. Not a word, not a line about the three hundred onslaughts mounted by American bombers on North Viet Nam in a single day. Let alone South Viet Nam where the strikes are still more furious. Should we recall that South Viet Nam is a country to which the Americans grant their so-called aid?..."

SARA Lidman goes on speaking. She speaks of a twenty three-year-old girl who looked to be only seven, for she has lost all her family in the struggle for the liberation of Viet Nam. She speaks of the Vietnamese's love for children and relates that distant relatives dispute with one another the privilege of taking care of a little orphan who has lost his dear ones.

In point of fact, Viet Nam is but a large family. All its members help one another.

What should we do, we who live so far from the Viet Nam war and, though, entirely in its shadow?

We should step up protest, for what will happen if mankind tolerates the destruction of Viet Nam? What will be able to move us to react?

From **Les Affaires des journalistes**
an OIJ bi-monthly No 20/21

GIs hanging their shoes to the trees to oppose Nixon's prolongation of the war

o A delegation of the World Peace Council arrived in Hanoi on January 13 for a visit to Viet Nam at the invitation of the Viet Nam Peace Committee.

The delegation, headed by Romesh Chandra, Secretary General of the World Peace Council, includes 8 members. It was welcomed by the Vice-President and Secretary General of the Viet Nam Peace Committee.

The delegation stated: "It is with the deepest emotion that the delegation of the World Peace Council appeals today for continued vigilance and for increasing actions to prevent any repetition of the December bombings, and to ensure that President Nixon signs without delay the agreement already reached with the DRVN.

The signing of this agreement can open the door to peace and independence for all the peoples of Indochina and can be a contribution of key significance for world peace.

Delay by the USA to sign will not only prolong the war in Viet Nam, it will also endanger all the gains for detente and normalisation of relations, peace and independence in all continents."

o At the invitation of the Viet Nam Peace Committee, a delegation of the Executive Council of the "Stockholm Conference on Viet Nam" paid a visit to the DRVN on January 13.

The delegation is led by Josef Bertil Zachrissan, Sweedish MP, President of the Executive Council. It was welcomed by the Minister of Culture of the DRVN and the Secretary General of the Viet Nam Peace Committee.

o On the same day, a delegation of the Japan Committee of Support for Viet Nam and the Japan-Viet Nam Friendship Association arrived in Hanoi for a visit to Viet Nam at the invitation of the Viet Nam Peace Committee.

It was welcomed by the President of the Viet Nam - Japan Friendship Association and the Secretary General of the Viet Nam Peace Committee.

in brief ★ in brief ★ in brief ★ in brief ★ in brief

HOLLAND

Around ten thousand people of Utrecht gathered on Jan. 6 in what was described as the biggest demonstration ever held in the country against the US war in Viet Nam. The demonstrators marched through downtown areas carrying placards reading: "Away with US imperialism!", "Stop bombing Viet Nam!", "Viet Nam belongs to Vietnamese!" etc.

BELGIUM

Thousands of peoples on Jan. 5 and 6 demonstrated in Brussels, Charleroi and Antwerp for the immediate and definitive cessation of the US bombing on the whole of Indochina, signing of the Viet Nam peace treaty, and prompt release of all patriots arbitrarily detained in South Viet Nam.

LUXEMBURG

A 3,000-strong demonstration took place in the capital city on Jan. 6. The marchers paraded in front of the US Embassy to urge in most categorical terms an end to the Nixon administration's aggression in Viet Nam.

SWITZERLAND

Meetings and demonstrations were staged on Jan. 4 in Bern, Neuchatel and Chaux de Fond. Leaflets distributed during these events condemned the US bombing of North Viet Nam and pressed for the immediate signing by the US of the Oct. 20, 1972 peace accord.

WEST GERMANY

Demonstrations against US terror air-raids against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam have erupted in Hamburg, Munich, Stuttgart and Freiburg, with thousands of professors massing in front of US Consulates or "cultural centres" angrily demanding the Nixon administration to stop its war in Viet Nam without delay.

NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

Representatives of 100 non-aligned countries, meeting in New York on Jan. 3, issued a statement strongly castigating the unprecedented massive US bombings in North Viet Nam aimed at imposing a solution on the Vietnamese people. The statement pointed out that the bombings aroused the indignation of the whole civilized world and surpassed all barbarities ever known to the progressive mankind. It regarded these an utter violation of the basic principles of the UN Charter and all norms of international law, and a danger to a speedy and fair settlement.

GREAT BRITAIN

Meetings, demonstration and signature-collecting drives against Nixon's extermination bombings in North Viet Nam and fund-raising activities have been organized in many places of the country: Manchester, Hull, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Coventry, Birmingham, Oxford, Surrey, Lambeth, Southampton, Edinburg, Harlow, Cardiff, etc. Around 11,000 sterlings were collected in the first ten days of this year by the Medical Aid Viet Nam Committee. Last year, Mrs Mary Wheeldon and her daughter had contributed 200 sterlings.

UNITED STATES

Tens of thousands of Americans have demonstrated in the past days, in Los Angeles, Denver and many other cities, for the prompt conclusion of the Viet Nam peace treaty of Dec. 10, 1972.

E. Punder, a "US Special Forces" sergeant, has handed to the military authorities in New York all the medals he had earned during his service in South Viet Nam. It has been a long time since one could no longer justify the savageness of the US war in Viet Nam, he declared.

Capt. Michael J. Hech, B.52 commander in Utapao, Thailand, refused to fly combat missions on Dec. 27 last year. He said he'd rather go to prison than take part in the massive destruction of cities and massacring civilian population.

The Senate of Massachusetts has passed a resolution terming the recent US air strikes in North Viet Nam as a criminal escalation of the US war of aggression against the Indochinese peoples. The resolution also urged Congress to cut off all appropriations for further US military operations in Southeast Asia.

FRANCE

The Support Viet Nam movement has been stepped up with demonstrations in Lorient, Nice, Beziers-Lyons, Montpellier, Epinal, a vigil in Reims, the lodging of protest petitions in Romainville, Argenteuil, Montrouge, collection of money for the reconstruction of the Bach Mai Hospital in Hanoi and for hospital equipment to be sent to Viet Nam, etc. Over 5,000 francs have been donated by workers of Dassault factories in Boulogne-Billancourt and Saint Cloud.

WEST BERLIN

On the nigh of January 5, large numbers of Berliners took part in a drive to give new names to many streets, such as "Ho Chi Minh Trail," "Square of Hanoi," etc. They also paraded in front of the American cultural centre bearing placards reading "Police is protecting a cultural centre of assassins," or "Nixon, murderer."

ITALY

Hundreds of marches, demonstrations, strikes, meetings and all-night vigils were staged in the last days of 1972 and early this year in Rome, Piemonte, Lombardy, Tuscany, Abruzzi, Sicily, Pisa, Florence, Venice, Genoa, Naples and elsewhere. In Rome, 40,000 people took to the streets to protest Nixon's bombing. Port workers in many places boycotted US shipping, and demonstrators pelted US-Army's R.R. centres with bricks, stones and bottles of jellied gasoline. An American electronic equipment company was also attacked and seriously damaged.

VIET NAM IS ONE

(*Continued from page 1*)

division, the French colonialists tried to lick into shape a pro-French Viet Nam, namely the Bao Dai State of Viet Nam, in opposition to Resisting Viet Nam. This moral partition came to an end with the Geneva Conference, but the US imperialists broke the Geneva Agreements by setting up a "Republic of Viet Nam" South of the 17th parallel. That was a second attempt at geographical division, which was so unnatural that even Ngo Dinh Diem's 1955 Constitution and Nguyen Van Thieu's 1967 Constitution both had to put down this: "Viet Nam is a Republic, independent, unified, with an indivisible territory."

After the failure of its 18-year old aggression the United States was compelled to recognize, in the Oct. 20, 1972 Agreement, the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people and the right to self-determination of our Southern fellow-countrymen. In raising once again the question of the "two Vietnamese states," the US and Thieu apparently want to resuscitate a dead body, and to secure at the Conference table a victory they have able gain by means of four successive strategies: undeclared war, special war, limited war in the South with a parallel air war against the North, Vietnamized war — and by mobilizing millions of GI's, Saigon and satellite troops and the giant military-industrial apparatus of a front — rank imperialist power.

In his speech over Radio-Saigon on Oct. 24, 1972 as well as in his address to the Saigon Assembly on Dec. 12, 1972, Nguyen Van Thieu styled himself representative of the 17 million South Vietnamese, but one can query by whom he was so appointed. The 1967 presidential election was only a farce, as Nguyen Cao Ky described it. The Thieu one-man presidential race of October 1971 in which he won a second term was another farce, even coarser and bloodier. Nor can Thieu represent any social section in the enemy-occupied cities and territories, and this explains why he resorts to endless repression and threat, imprisonment and torture, against any individual and group, including those who have once sided with him. His is a Diem regime without Diem, it is worse still since he repeatedly howls for blood and uses strong language against those who don't see eye to eye with him.

From a camouflaged presidential regime — in essence a dictatorship Thieu has moved to an overt one with his 10/68 and other fascist decrees issued by virtue of "full powers" forcibly wrested from the Saigon Assembly.

Standing by Thieu is only the United States, and Thieu is a tool in US hands for the implementation of "Vietnamization" and the prosecution of a neo-colonialist war of aggression aimed at imposing US neo-colonialism on South Viet Nam.

THE Allian of National, Democratic and Peace Forces was founded in early 1968 with a National Salvation Manifesto in which it made clear its position: "Unite with all patriotic forces and individuals in the resolute fight against foreign aggression, completety overthrow the Nguyen Van Thieu - Nguyen Cao Ky quisling regime, set up a government of national union; and achieve independence, democracy and peace." Our political program, made public on July 31, 1968, once again stated: "National re-unification is the ardent desire and sacred duty of our people."

But we also realize that at present, there exist, as a matter of fact, two different political regimes in the two zones of Viet Nam. National re-unification cannot be achieved overnight, therefore between the South and the North there should be consultations and discussions on a basis of equality and respect for each zone's pecularities as a step towards national renification by peaceful means."

We consequently endorse the Sept. 11, 1972 statement by the RSVN PRG which pointed to the existence, in the present conditions in South Viet Nam, of two political regimes, two armies and other political forces and which proposed a peaceful solution on that basis. We approve the main clauses of the Oct. 20, 1972 Agreement which stressed that the principles for the exercise of the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination are as follows: "The South Vietnamese people shall decide themselves the political future of South Viet Nam through genuinely free and democratic general elections under international supervision; the United States is not committed to any political tendency or to any personality in South Viet Nam, and it does not seek to impose a pro-American regime in Saigon; national reunification and concord will be achieved, the democratic liberties of the people ensured, etc."

This is the only way to end the atrocious war and restore peace in independence, freedom and national concord.

If the United States continues to stubbornly instigate Nguyen Van Thieu against this line with a view to permanently partitioning our country, it will invite upon itself ever more lamentable setbacks and will not be able to avoid final doom.

In 1968 an appeal was launched by the Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces urging our fellow-countrymen in South Viet Nam's occupied cities and territories to broaden and strengthen their unity and to fight the common enemy shoulder to shoulder, millions as one.

At present, at this crucial hour of the anti-US patriotic struggle of the whole nation, we call on our fellow-countrymen to uphold their patriotism and national tradition of unity, forget differences for the sake of the common Great Cause, strengthen their unity and one-mindedness and step up the fight on all fronts - military, political and diplomatic — to force the United States to give up its aggressive designs and its "Vietnamization" program and sign without delay the Agreement reached on Oct. 20, 1972.

Together with all our people, we reaffirm that the Vietnamese nation is one, Viet Nam is one, no brutal force can permanently divide our Fatherland. "Unity, unity, greater unity," this teaching of President Ho Chi Minh, our Venerated national leader, will certainly lead our Southern fellow-countrymen and our entire people to "success, success, greater success."

THE WHOLE WORLD SCORES...

The storm of protest against the Nixon administration's war escalation in Viet Nam that has swept the world over recent days has effectively helped stay the bloody hands of the US imperialists. Following is a sample of this wide spectrum of opinion—Ed.

US Senator B. Saxbe (Republican) member of the Senate Armed Forces Committee:

"Nixon appears to have left his senses."... The decision to resume saturation bombing of North Viet Nam reflects an arrogant and irresponsible attitude.

Senator Mike Mansfield, Democratic majority leader at the US Senate:

"It looks like we are back in the same old tunnel... I do not think mining Haiphong and stepping up the bombing will bring Hanoi to its knees" (Dec. 19, 1972). "The effort to salvage a shred of face from a senseless war has succeeded only in spreading further devastation and clouding this nation's reputation" (Jan. 3, 1973).

Senator McGovern, former Democratic Presidential candidate:

"The resumption of the bombing will only prolong the war and increase the determination of the North Vietnamese to resist. The hard fact is that the Nixon administration is embarking on the path of involving our troops in military actions in the jungles of Viet Nam and this path requires new appropriations for the continuation of this futile plan which we committed the mistake to have started."

Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme:

"One should call things by their proper name. What is happening today in Viet Nam is a form of torture. There are no military grounds for the bombing. The military spokesman in Saigon has also dismissed reports of North Viet Nam preparing for an escalation. It seems there are no grounds to say that the Vietnamese have put up obstacles to the negotiations. What the US is undertaking now is a torture for the people, for a country, with a view to humiliating them and force them to bow to the voice of force. That is why, the bombing is an outrage and there were many examples of such incidents in modern history. They are usually remembered by names — Guernica, Oradour, Babi Yar, Katyn, Lidice, Sharpeville and Treblinka."

President of the Mainz Social Democratic Party (West Germany) Wilhelm Dreescher:

"The US intensification of the air war in Viet Nam is an error and an inhuman act. The war being conducted by the US at an unprecedented level is clouding Christmas throughout the world. This must be made clear: The US should not, in the name of mankind and the so-called "holy war," mount a series of terror bombings against the civilian population and use them to exert political pressure."

Cuban Premier Fidel Castro:

"With the stubborness of an imperialist, Nixon is attempting to use frenzied mass massacres and brutal destruction coupled with crafty diplomatic manœuvres to delay his failure which the imperialists themselve have admitted."

Cuban Vice-Premier Flavio Bravo:

"Nixon's deeds clearly show his reactionary and savage nature. He stubbornly continues killing Vietnamese, dragging on the war and delaying the signing of the peace agreement which he pretended to accept at the approach of the election in the US in order to deceive the Americans. However, his new crimes definitely cannot stave off his defeat in South Viet Nam."

Uganda President I. Amin:

"The resumption of the bombing of North Viet Nam is a calculated act of bad faith of the US president. Obviously, these bombings are completely wanton. In this letter to you, there are no words to describe the feeling of sickening horror we in Uganda have before the barbarity without a precedent in human history."

Ghanaian President of the National Salvation Council I.K. Acheampong:

"The massive US bombing of populated areas in Viet Nam is an horrible offence. Ghana, like any other country in Africa, cannot sit idle before this atrocity."

Cambodian Head of State Norodom Sihanouk:

"No word can describe the odious, brutal and villainous deeds of Richard Nixon. He has stopped at nothing in his very barbarous massacres of civilians including even patients in hospital beds, doctors and medical workers in the accomplishment of their humanitarian tasks. And this horror took place after he had brazenly broken his promise by refusing to sign an honourable and fair agreement to which he had agreed in October last."

Australian Minister of Foreign Trade James Cairns:

"I want to make this clear to the the Nixon administration: you must end your attack on the Vietnamese people, and leave them alone. Withdraw your armed forces to your country. Bombing will not bring the end of the war any nearer."

Italian Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Podini:

"The Italian government cannot accept this brutal logic of war."

Danish Foreign Minister Anderson:

"The present policy of the US has failed completely. It has only generated a feeling of bitterness and indignation."

First Secretary of CPSU L. Brezhnev:

"Washington calls the Viet Nam war the longest war. That is true but it is necessary to add that it is also the dirtiest war in the history of America. At present the whole world is witnessing new crimes of US imperialism in Viet Nam. The US government must bear the heavy responsibility for these barbarous acts, for the continued shedding of blood of the Vietnamese people. It must be stressed that many things still depend on the evolution of the situation in the coming period, especially on how the question of ending the Viet Nam war will develop."

Chinese Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien:

"Everybody is protesting against the bad faith of the US government. The US imperialists have arrogantly intensified the war and are using the force of arms to intimidate the Vietnamese people. This has once again laid bare the stubborn stance of the US government. It attempts to force with bombs and shells the Vietnamese people to accept its absurd terms. That is absolutely impossible. The more it intensifies and drags on the war, the heavier punishment it will receive."

President of the Algerian Revolutionary Council H. Boumedienne:

"At a time when the whole mankind insists that the US sign the peace agreement already reached between the United States and the DRVN, we strongly condemn the aggressive forces of imperialism which are resuming their aggressive actions by resuming the bombing of North Viet Nam. They must be blamed for the continuation of the war."

President of Democratic Yemen Salem Rabaia Ali:

"We call on mankind's conscience to wake up and stigmatize those barbarous acts."

First Vice-Premier of the GDR A. Neumann:

"Slighting all norms of international law and humanism, the US imperialists want to destroy the Vietnamese people. Nixon must end immediately his double-dealing and recognize the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people. Only this can lead to a peace settlement based on the agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Viet Nam already agreed upon by the DRVN and the United States."

Chairman of the Federal National Assembly of Czechoslovakia A. Indira:

"The Communist Party, Government and people of Czechoslovakia strongly condemn the US escalation of military actions against the DRVN. The resumed and stepped up bombing can only be regarded as an attempt to use force to impose on the Vietnamese people the US terms for a cease-fire in Viet Nam."

President of the Bulgarian State Council T. Zhivkov:

"Together with the entire progressive mankind, we forcefully condemn the new aggressive acts of US imperialism in Viet Nam. We declare that we are siding and will side with the heroic Vietnamese until their legitimate liberation struggle is crowned with complete success."

Norwegian Prime Minister Lara Korvala:

"The escalation of the air bombing by the US against the DRVN has deeply disappointed all those who believe that it is possible to achieve peace (in Viet Nam) in the near future."

Norwegian Foreign Minister Dagfinn Vaarik:

"We in Norway have a special relationship with the US. But we have also shown a particular strong reaction to the resumed bombing. As everybody knows, the Norwegian government has told all concerned parties in the war, especially the United States, our ally in the NATO and our friend, that the bombing should end."

Finnish Prime Minister Kalevi Rorsa:

"World public opinion is not only frustrated but also grieved by the brutal destruction caused by a world power which arrogates to itself the right to obliterate a small country, a small nation, from the map."

Finnish Archbishop Sinojoki:

"What can we do to help our brothers in Viet Nam? Praying and believing only will not lead to actions, is necessary. But praying and believing especially effective actions. That is why, praying and believing alone will not be the right way to pray and believe."

Canadian Pierre Trudeau:

"The Canadian government always considers the resumption of the bombing of North Viet Nam a bad method to end the war. Earlier we have condemned this act. We hope that the negotiations will resume. We hold that this is the best way to achieve peace."

People in West Berlin turning out in the street, carrying Support Viet Nam slogans, in response to the appeal of the United Socialist Party of West Germany

SOUTH VIET NAM CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE SOUTH VIET NAM NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION